

May 18, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

precisely what he accuses my committee of doing and I am disappointed that Mr. Epstein's widely publicized lesson in elementary journalism has been so little regarded.

RICHARD H. ICHORD,  
Chairman.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**LAOS: A LAKE OF BLOOD****HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 17, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a legal resident of Minnesota, Mr. James E. Malia, is the director of the International Voluntary Services program in Laos. I ask permission to insert in the RECORD after these remarks two letters, one addressed to me, the other to the President, written recently by Mr. Malia. I also want to place in the RECORD an April 7, 1971, New York Times piece by Fred Branfman entitled "A Lake of Blood."

Mr. Speaker, we should not be surprised by these descriptions of the decimation of the Lao and Meo people in Laos. The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, chaired by the senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), has made our role in this slaughter "perfectly clear." See the February 24, 1971, RECORD at page S1872 for a number of press articles detailing the human costs of the "unknown war" in Laos.

As Mr. Malia writes the President:

We recognize that ours is not the only violence against these people. We condemn also the destruction and killing brought by the North Vietnamese. But we do not believe that their presence in Laos, nor the presence of an indigenous Communist movement, justifies U.S. military activity against an entire society.

Few of those who live in the geographical area of Indochina known to us as Laos have any understanding of Laos as a nation. U.S. involvement in that tragic land has, in conjunction with the aggressive Vietnamese, insured that hundreds of thousands, already dead, or dying or marked for death, will not live to be Laotians. To talk of self-determination in such circumstances is hypocrisy. U.S. noninvolvement will not lead to either a bloodbath or most likely, to Vietnamese withdrawal. But as Mr. Malia concludes his letter to me:

The peoples of these countries, who must live with the solutions to their mutual problems, must be allowed to work them out amongst themselves. The results may not be acceptable to us, but they will undoubtedly in some way be acceptable to those who must live with them. This is what is most important.

Our intervention in Laos has made the ultimate reconciliation more difficult and it will be most likely less advantageous to the peoples of Laos. The lesson is clear. In areas not vital to our national security, any military intervention must have the sanction of the world community and it must be agreeable to those peoples most intimately involved in the area.

Any other policy can only lead to other Laotian tragedies.

The material follows:

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY  
SERVICES, INC.,

APO San Francisco, March 18, 1971.

HON. DONALD FRASER,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I am a resident of Minnesota and am presently the Director of the International Voluntary Services program in Laos. I have been in Laos for the past three and a half years and thus feel that I speak with some credibility when talking about Laos, its people, and what the American military presence is doing to these people and this country. It is my conviction that the American military presence in Laos and the paramilitary activity that supports it is not in the best interest of Laos or its people and that it should be withdrawn by the end of this year.

A basic reality in Southeast Asia is North Viet-Nam. They are a strong, competent, aggressive people. The other peoples of Southeast Asia must in some way come to terms with them. This is not a new phenomena as for the past five hundred years peoples in this part of the world have had to in some way reconcile themselves with North Viet-Nam. This is still the case today. Continuing American involvement in Southeast Asia only forestalls this reconciliation and at a price devastating to the indigenous people and to ourselves.

In Laos, a land of diverse ethnic groups, cultures and traditions, we have used these divisions in our cause against Communism and North Viet-Nam. The Central Intelligence Agency arms and directs an army of tribal people, mostly Meo, against the communist insurgents and the North Vietnamese. With money we have exploited their traditional desire for independence for our objectives. For the Meo it has meant the destruction of nearly half their population and the establishment of a nearly irreparable breach between these people and the North Vietnamese. Now we arm boys to do most of the fighting. They have little training and little chance against the well trained Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese troops. Why do we continue to support this carnage? Isn't it time that someone said stop?

In the whole of Laos we support a right wing government controlled by the military. We have paid off the generals and upper class elite to keep the government loyal to us so as to be a vehicle through which we can carry out our objectives in Laos. We support an army which must conscript at gun point and which is slowly ridding the country side of its young men. To what end is all this?

We have bombed civilian areas in a systematic destruction of the human basis for society. People, homes, and communities were destroyed. Finally, when given the chance, the people left their homeland to come to an area where the Americans do not bomb. Is this in the best interest of Laos' people?

Laos and its people are slowly being destroyed by a continuing American military presence that uses this country and these people in our fight against communism. President Nixon's Vietnamization policy will only continue to use these people for the protection of American lives, for the perpetration of American objectives. Such activity is demeaning to a country which espouses to values of human dignity and equality. Thus I would urge that in your capacity as a United States Representative you do all that is possible toward bringing about a swift and total withdrawal of all American military activity in Laos and in Southeast Asia. The peoples of these countries, who must live with the solutions to their mutual problems, must be allowed to work them out amongst themselves. The results may not be

acceptable to us, but they will undoubtedly in some way be acceptable to those who must live with them. This is what is most important.

If I can be of any help to you in the future, please do not hesitate to ask.

Sincerely,

JAMES E. MALIA,  
Director, IVS, Vientiane, Laos.

VIENTIANE, LAOS,  
March 15, 1971.

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

Sir: We are deeply distressed by your decision to encourage and to support the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos. We have heard and read your explanations of this decision, in terms of shortening the war and protecting American lives. But we know that the military reality will be further chaos and further suffering among people who have already suffered much because of American military activity. We condemn this policy which uses the Lao people as pieces in a grand global design which they neither understand nor care about. Though there would still be fighting without the American involvement, the intensity of the present destruction takes place for reasons which have virtually nothing to do with local political alignments or conditions. We condemn also the eagerness to protect American lives by the sacrifice of Asian lives.

We are not military experts or political analysts. We are volunteer concerned for our fellow man, working to help them in agriculture, social welfare, community development, and education. Collectively, we have lived and worked among the Lao people for many years, speaking their language, coming to know and understand many of their concerns. During this time, we have also come to know the destruction and sorrow brought to them by the United States military action.

The extensive bombing of civilian areas is particularly vicious. In talking with refugees, we have heard what the days and nights under bombardment are like. Refugees tell of being forced to live in holes and caves, of having to farm at night, of the systematic destruction by U.S. war planes of the human basis for a society. These people were not soldiers, nor were there soldiers in their villages. Yet they were bombed; their homes were destroyed and anti-personnel bombs were dropped to kill and maim people on contact. Children were particularly vulnerable. So now these people have fled their homeland to live in resettlement villages in areas where the United States does not yet bomb.

The CIA trains and supports its own clandestine army in Laos. A large proportion of the soldiers in this "secret" army are from the Meo and other tribal groups. The U.S. has exploited their traditional toughness and independence in our own crusade against Communism. The result has been the decimation and dislocation of the tribal populace.

The Meo have lost nearly half their male population, and much of the fighting is now done by young boys with little training of any kind. Much of their traditional culture has been destroyed in the repeated forced migration into inhospitable but "safe" areas. Our use of these people has also opened a nearly irreparable breach between the tribal people and the North Vietnamese. The need in Laos, as official American statements supposedly recognize, is for reconciliation, not greater division, greater bitterness.

Yet now, with strong backing from U.S. military forces, the South Vietnamese are fighting in southern Laos. This has upset a delicate status quo and expanded the fighting once more into populated areas west of the invaded territory, as well as aggravating already serious fighting elsewhere within

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Laos. It can only be described as an escalation of this war, if not for American soldiers, then certainly for the Lao people. And these people are also worthy of our concern, and yours.

We condemn the United States military activity in Laos and ask that you act immediately to end the wholesale destruction of lives and of Lao society. We recognize that ours is not the only violence against these people. We condemn also the destruction and killing brought by the North Vietnamese. But we do not believe that their presence in Laos, nor the presence of an indigenous Communist movement, justifies U.S. military activity against an entire society. It is not in the interests of the people we are trying to help. Nor is it in the long range interests of the United States. We simply cannot base our policy towards Laos, or toward Southeast Asia, or toward any part of the underdeveloped world, on our own selfish concerns for global order. There must be and will be fundamental change in these areas of the world. It would be more in keeping with both the ideals and the interests of the U.S. to help make these changes. Instead, United States policy has made them more and more difficult, arming one group against another, reinforcing the economic and political imbalance between the rural population and the urban elite, and polarizing political forces to discourage national and regional cooperation.

Your responsibility extends beyond the creation of a situation in which no more Americans are being killed. The United States can and should encourage an atmosphere that would allow the dissident factions fighting in Laos and the rest of Indo China to work out their own solutions to local problems. U.S. policy may influence some of the decisions, but no lasting solution will come from the imposition of a rigid framework determined primarily by short range interests of the United States.

Sincerely,

T. Hunter Wilson, James E. Mallia, Fred Cunningham II, Jane Stone, Steve Stone, LeRoy Battcher, Joyce Battcher, Linda Durnbaugh, Allen Inversin, Cornelis M. Keur, Beth E. Hansen, Fred J. Evans, John C. Klechle, Steven A. Bunck, Jermain D. Porter, Richard H. Burkhardt, Henry F. Thorne, Allan W. Best, Valdemar Petersen, James R. Bowman, Elizabeth J. Wiggans.

#### A LAKE OF BLOOD

(By Fred Branfman)

(NOTE.—Fred Branfman, an American freelance writer fluent in Laotian, was an educational adviser of International Volunteer Services.)

I have recently returned from Laos, where I spent the last four years. During the last year we interviewed over 1,000 refugees from northeastern Laos and the four provinces in southern Laos through which the Ho Chi Minh Trail runs. They had left these Pathet Lao-controlled areas, which are today inhabited by an American-estimated half-million civilians.

Each, without exception, said that his village had been totally leveled by bombing. Each, without exception, said that he had spent months or even years on end hiding in holes or trenches dug into foothills.

The refugees say that the bombing began in 1964. One twenty-year-old boy from Khangkhai, in northeastern Laos, describes it: "The bombing began first on the Plaine des Jarres, then at Khangkhai. Everyone seemed afraid because we had never seen anything like this, and we didn't even know where the planes came from. But we knew they were jets because the noise was like one made by the thunder."

When asked why they did not keep on the move, one mother of three explained,

"How could we? We had to try and grow enough rice to survive. The children and grandparents could not live a life of constant movement. And we had to try and care for our buffalo and cows, our belongings."

It is of 1969, however, when American jets bombing North Vietnam were diverted into Laos, that the refugees speak most. When asked how often the planes came, they uniformly report that they "cannot count." As an old leathery-faced man put it, "The planes came like the birds, and the bombs fell like the rain."

One 37-year-old rice farmer said: "In the region of Xiengkhouang there came to be a lake of blood and destruction, most pitiful for friends and children and old people. Before, my life was most enjoyable and we worked in our ricefields and gardens. Our progress was great. But then came changes in the manner of the war, which caused us to lose our land, our upland and paddy ricefields, our cows and our buffaloes. For there were airplanes and the sounds of bombs throughout the sky and hills. All we had were the holes."

But though the people spent most of their time hiding in caves and tunnels, they were forced to go out at least once a day. They had to try and grow enough rice or manioc to survive; to pound rice, relieve themselves or beg food from better-off neighbors; to graze and water livestock, for whom they felt a strong bond of affection. As one old man put it, "My buffaloes were a source of 100,000 loves and 100,000 worries for me."

When they did, there was a good chance they would be riddled by anti-personnel bombs, shredded by fragmentation bombs, burned by napalm or buried alive by 500-pounds bombs.

A 35-year-old man who, sitting baretorsoed in a small hut one day, explained: "Me Ou was my mother-in-law. She was 59 when she died on February 20, 1968. The jets had come over about 10 A.M. and she was hiding in our trench with the rest of my family. It was cold and she was an old lady. She decided to leave the trench about 3 P.M. to get some clothing for the children and herself. She went into our house about twenty yards away. Suddenly the jets came again and bombed our village. She didn't have time to get out of the house. She was burned alive."

The Plaine des Jarres is today a deserted wasteland.

One 35-year-old woman from the Plaine des Jarres has written: "Every day and every night the planes came to drop bombs on us. We lived in holes in order to protect our lives. There were bombs of many kinds . . . I saw my cousin die in the field of death. My heart was most disturbed, and my voice called out loudly as I ran to the houses. Thusly, I saw the life of the population and the dead people on account of the war with many airplanes in the region of Xiengkhouang. Until there were no houses at all. And the cows and buffalo were dead. Until it was leveled and you could see only the red, red ground. I think of this time and still I am afraid."

In spite of all they have been through, the people we have talked to are relatively fortunate. They are out from under. Today millions of civilians in Laos and Cambodia remain under precisely the same conditions.

It must be understood that the guerrillas of Indochina have long since learned to keep on the move constantly through the forest in small groups, mostly at night; that our infra-red scopes cannot locate them, and our jets bombing at 600 miles an hour cannot hit them; that even the United States Air Force does not pointlessly drop ordnance in the forest; and that as more airplanes are made available, the purpose of the bombing becomes, in the words of Robert Shaplen, writing in Foreign Affairs of April 1970, "to destroy the social and economic fabric in enemy areas."

We are carrying out "tactical air support" for troops in combat, and "air interdiction" against trucks, to be sure. But we are at the same time practicing the most protracted bombing of civilian targets in history.

#### VA VOLUNTARY SERVICE

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 17, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 25th anniversary of the Veterans' Administration Voluntary Service, which coordinates volunteer programs in the Nation's VA hospitals. Volunteers in these hospitals perform an invaluable service by providing extra care and assistance to patients which doctors and nurses do not have the time to give. The challenge of the 1970's will be caring for the nearly 300,000 men who have been wounded in Vietnam. As demands on the professional nursing and medical staff increase, the role of volunteers and the need for their personal care and attention to veterans becomes more and more significant.

Last year, volunteers at the Fort Howard Veterans' Administration Hospital contributed more than 27,800 man-hours of service, under the supervision of Dr. Saul Fortunoff, director of the hospital. I would like to pay tribute to the men, women, and organizations who donated their time and service to the Fort Howard VA Hospital by including their names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

THOUSAND HOURS OF SERVICE AND HAVE SERVED AT LEAST ONE HUNDRED HOURS DURING THE PAST YEAR.

Teresa Kupfer, 19,234 hours, American Legion Auxiliary.

Jane Connor, 18,100 hours, Veterans of Foreign Wars Aux.

Minnie McDonnell, 7,849 hours, American Legion Auxiliary.

Minnie Henry, 6,936 hours, Service Star Legion.

Helen Johnson, 5,929 hours, Veterans of Foreign Wars Aux.

Edward Cross, 4,417 hours, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Grace Delly, 3,769 hours, American Red Cross.

Madeline Offey, 3,372 hours, American Red Cross.

Roberta Weber, 3,274 hours, Veterans of Foreign Wars Aux.

Richard Binick, 2,847 hours, Disabled American Veterans.

Lillian Yaniger, 2,689 hours, Jewish War Veterans Auxiliary.

Rena Skiles, 2,039 hours, American Red Cross.

Mary Govoni, 1,988 hours, American Red Cross.

Joseph Manko, 1,920 hours, Catholic War Veterans.

Lillian Morrison, 1,612 hours, Veterans of Foreign Wars Aux.

Marion Salter, 1,564 hours, American Red Cross.

Bernard Morenz, 1,559 hours, Veterans of World War I.

Pauline Tarlton, 1,420 hours, American Legion Auxiliary.

Jane Bessent, 1,353 hours, Veterans of Foreign Wars Aux.

# Strong Red Forces Overrun Important Laotian Positions

By TAMMY ARBUCKLE  
Special to The Star

**VIENTIANE** — Strong North Vietnamese forces have captured the Bolovens Plateau in South Laos, overrunning the town of Pak Song and five other important Lao Government positions, military sources said. At least 54 government troops were killed and 200 wounded, the Lao sources say.

Two battalions of Thai troops also are missing.

The Vietnamese opened the attack late Saturday, shelling all government positions north and northeast of Pak Song as well as Pak Song military headquarters. The North Vietnamese shelling and ground attacks on Thai troops came at Ban Houei Sai, 10 miles northeast of Pak Song Saturday midnight, but the Thais held ground. However, in

the early hours, yesterday, North Vietnamese troops cut Route 23 linking Pak Song with the Mekong River town of Pak Se and took Phou Phiamay and Phou Kongtom, northeast of Houei Sai.

Faced with strong infantry attacks on his Pak Song headquarters, Lao Gen. Bouathong pulled the Thais from Houei Sai to reinforce Pak Song.

The general also asked help from the U.S. Air Force, saying only "massive" air strikes could save Pak Song. The Air Force, however, was unable to comply because of what military sources called "marginal" weather.

Early yesterday afternoon Air Force forward air controllers reported a North Vietnamese unit was in Pak Song, conducting house-to-house searches.

Low flying Americans reported the North Vietnamese were wearing hats festooned with leaves.

By the afternoon, well before the Thais could reach them, the Laotians had quit Pak Song with 50 dead in a headquarters battalion, including the battalion commander, Maj. Thongdy.

There has been no contact with the Thai forces stranded east of Pak Song.

Military sources called the situation confused, but a major military disaster in South Laos was in the making.

Military sources said seven North Vietnamese battalions of more than 3,000 men took part in the attack.

Intelligence reports said the trails in the area are humming with activity.

# Ho Trail Extended in Laos

By TAMMY ARBUCKLE

Special to The Star

VIENTIANE, Laos — North Vietnam is extending the Ho Chi Minh network of supply trails further west in the panhandle area of Laos in a move to keep them out of reach of South Vietnamese troops, sources report.

Reviewing Communist military activity in Laos since South Vietnamese troops drove across the border in an attempt to disrupt the trail in February, the sources said the North Vietnamese have constructed two new trails west of the Lao town of Muong Phine on Route 9.

Muong Phine is 30 miles west of Sepone (also called Tchepone), the furthest point in Laos reached by South Vietnamese troops during Operation Lamson.

## Bustling Activity

The two new trails are reported bustling with activity as Hanoi sends supplies south toward South Vietnam and Cambodia in an attempt to get materiel to its forces before the Lao monsoon begins early in June.

Hanoi also is using a new trail across the Bolovens Plateau in the southern portion of the Laotian panhandle. Like the trails around Muong Phine, this trail is further away from the South Vietnam border.

A major clue to Hanoi's plan to shift its supply network west has been a series of attacks in the last 10 days against CIA-directed guerrilla operations in the area of the new trails.

North Vietnamese troops swooped down on guerrillas in the Muong Phine area, killing 80, then went on to capture Muong Phalane on Route 9.

## CIA Badly Beaten

In these attacks, the Communists used four battalions of troops and had heavy antiaircraft support. Four T28 planes of the Lao air force were shot down, including one piloted by the son of a member of the Lao National Assembly.

"The North Vietnamese have

cleared the guerrillas out of the Muong Phine area. The agency (CIA) has taken a bad beating," a source here said.

Military sources expect the next move by Hanoi will be to strike at either Pak Song or Houei Kong, two towns still held by the government on the Bolovens Plateau. This would allow the use of additional trails in the west. A North Vietnamese buildup in these areas was reported going on last weekend.

Military and diplomatic sources traced the patterns of Communist actions in Laos since Lamson and the political reasons for the actions this way:

On March 21, Communist troops struck the royal capital of Luang Prabang, capturing the heights overlooking the town's airfield, the last remaining link with the outside world not previously subject to enemy pressure.

This had the effect of drawing Lao forces from southern Laos, where the Communists intended to expand to the west. Politically, the move against Luang Prabang served to warn the royal Lao government against agreeing to any more South Vietnamese incursions.

By mid-April, the Communists had withdrawn from Luang Pra-

bang. "They accomplished their mission, to warn the government of what could happen," said a diplomatic source.

## Heavy Pressure

The North Vietnamese made sure the reinforcements for Luang Prabang would come from southern Laos by keeping heavy pressure on the Long Chen area in northeastern Laos.

Throughout late March and early April the Communists worked on the new trails around Muong Phine. In early May the military campaign began to rid the area of government guerrilla forces so as to insure there would be no harassment of the supplies they began to move along the new trails.

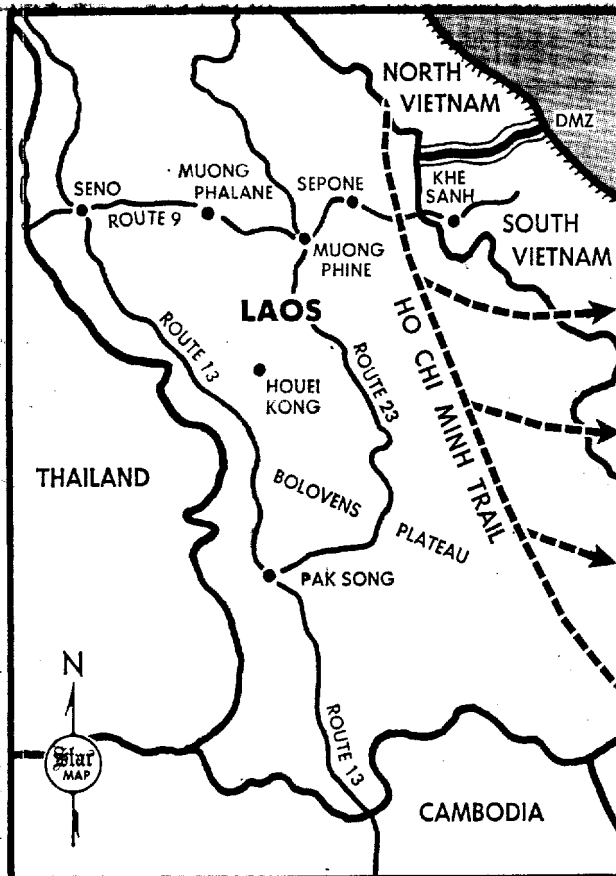
The attacks on government guerrillas and troops which are continuing now in the Long Chen area resumed in April.

In one week, some 2,000 shells were fired at hill 163, Long Chen's forward position. Earlier, Ban Na Hill, 4,000 yards east, fell to the Communists after similar bombardment. The airstrip at Long Chen receives almost a daily ration of rockets and sapper abound in the hills around the town.

Communist tactics against Long Chen are reminiscent of those used in 1968 against Nam Bac, where the Laotians lost some 2,000 troops. There the North Vietnamese kept pressure for 10 months—sometimes attacking, sometimes retreating, but always shelling and probing—until it fell in one unexpected and well-prepared assault.

Diplomats speculate that the threat to Long Chen will be held over the government's head through the rainy seasons while talks between the government and the Communist Pathet Lao go on here.

If the Lao government refuses to provide the Communists with a larger share of the government, the North Vietnamese will assault Long Chen in the next dry season, say these diplomats.



—Star Artist Robert Hoke

## A shifted Ho Chi Minh trail.

It has in common with all good ideas the attendant question of why wasn't it done before. There are many answers to that question.

First, and simply, we all know it is not easy to get new ideas rolling. But we know too that, if they are good ones, they will gather momentum. Others will follow. I firmly expect that we shall see other centers such as this in other universities. We most certainly shall if we can find a way of discovering other Walter Annenbergs.

But, as important as they are, Walter Annenbergs cannot, and should not, carry the burden by themselves. Many others have helped and many more will be needed to carry on the work to make this Center live. We are privileged to be celebrating here, but we are celebrating *only* a beginning.

We need, too, other Martin Meyersons. Mr. Meyerson was suggesting concepts such as we see crystallized here long before he came to this University.

In 1967 some of us met in a series of discussions to explore art critic Harold Rosenberg's belief that "If a new beginning (in the arts and education) is to be made, the key to it lies within the university."

President Meyerson, who was then President of the State University of New York at Buffalo, even then, jumped with both feet on the prevailing belief, a mythology, he called it, of the two cultures. The second of which, the arts, he said, was often referred to as "hobby-lobby" in common rooms and faculty clubs of the University.

That notion, elaborated by a lot of pedantic language and hardened views, he said, had resulted in "two separate academic worlds." The mythology was "that a university and a conservatory are at inevitable odds with each other."

That notion, he went on to say, "is being perpetuated in our universities and is acceptable with delight by university admission people. It gives them a rationale for excluding the potential artist. It has resulted in two separate academic worlds."

"A student who wants intensive education in the performing arts cannot find it in our universities. Let me say quite emphatically that I do not believe this should be the case. I think the artist will be the better for his exposure to the climate of the university and the university, very obviously, the better for having had exposure to the artist."

This Center in this University will serve to prove the value of President Meyerson's words. And I doubt the admissions people of this particular University will do anything to perpetuate the myth of separateness by keeping the student body free of artists.

What an exciting and lively vista confronts the imagination when you think of this Center going about its business everyday. What thrilling and profoundly valuable things can come out of it. And, I suppose, failures as well. But they should not discourage us. And, I expect, some pretty good controversies as well. But the vision of the Center will not be lost in our attempt to reach it.

The Center is a springboard, an exploring place and a productive place. Is there anything more impressive than the simple glorious idea of it? the shape of it? the people who planned it? those who made it possible? Yes, indeed, more important are those who will live in it and with it every day of the year. Those will bring support to keep it alive and those who will bring ideas to make it live.

I was very proud to be invited here. And I was thinking about this and thinking about the Center and thinking of where it is, and why, and it struck me that it is most suitable, and not at all surprising, that it should be here.

As the first capital of the country, remember, Philadelphia was known as the Athens of America. It has always, from our earliest

time, from before the time we became a nation, been a most hospitable and fertile soil for artists.

Philadelphia was outstanding, early, in commerce, in law, in banking. But, by the 1750's, it was also the most active artistic center in the colonies.

Its early great families made frequent trips to Europe and returned with art books, prints, drawings, copies of great paintings, and great paintings themselves. They brought back antiquities and neoclassic sculpture.

And, they also brought, because of the city's fine reputation for hospitality to the arts, artists, many who arrived before the Revolution. Charles Willson Peale, Matthew Pratt and Thomas Sully set up permanent studios in the city.

In 1794, twenty-nine artists headed by Charles Willson Peale organized an academy for the "protection and encouragement of the Fine Arts," to be operated by the artists themselves. There were quarrels, however, and eight artists resigned in protest of "the inconsistent and indecent motion" to have students draw from living models in the absence of casts.

Still, that organization sponsored the first public exhibition of contemporary art to be held in the country, and it gave Peale the idea of a museum or an academy for the city for the encouragement of the arts.

In 1871, 70 Philadelphians assembled in Independence Hall to draw up a constitution for an academy. That was the beginning of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. In its way the Academy was a communication center. It had a purpose of communicating art beyond the confines of Philadelphia. It became the parent of the loan or traveling exhibit.

In 1823 it loaned a number of paintings to the Charleston Museum, then the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts. By the middle of the century, the practice of borrowing pictures became well established.

In time, the Pennsylvania Academy became a guiding institution to the younger ones which followed in the smaller communities of the Eastern seaboard.

And I believe that in time, and not so long a time, this Center will extend the same guiding hand to other universities who are looking ahead to the full use and encouragement of the arts as part of their purpose and function.

Some will be fortunate enough to have a Walter Annenberg and grateful to have the continuing support of the university and the community. Because only then will they too be able to have Centers for Communication Arts and Sciences. It is an idea and a way of operating it that can grow.

Meanwhile, to the long list of thanks to Ambassador Annenberg, and the others who made this visionary but hardheaded concept a fact, I would like to add my own.

## LAOS AND THE CREDIBILITY GAP

MR. CHURCH. Mr. President, the credibility gap is again widening. Testimony by a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State before Senator KENNEDY's Subcommittee on Refugees last week, regarding the serious refugee problem in Laos, is being refuted, interestingly enough, by official Americans in Vientiane. Our Government here in Washington has claimed that American bombing operations in Laos have not contributed in any significant way to the movement of refugees from northern Laos. Yet, as reported by the Evening Star's Tammy Arbuckle from the Laotian capital, where most of the refugees are now camped:

Americans here, most of them in middle-level posts, recalled a joint U.S.-Laos opera-

tion, called Operation Abol Face, in August 1969 which, they said, bombed towns around the Plain of Jars area "out of existence."

Mr. Arbuckle said that the United States accelerated the bombing of northern Laos after the American elections in 1968 and after "Phou Pathi, a radar station in the north fell to enemy hands."

In May 1969, Mr. Arbuckle continued:

American planes razed the town of Xieng Khouang on the Plain of Jars causing an estimated 200 civilian casualties.

In August, U.S. planes hit virtually every village in the Plain of Jars area, in particular destroying the town of Phou Sevay to clear the way for joint U.S.-Laos helicopter operations there.

These Americans said several private surveys of refugees from the Plain of Jars supported the charge that bombing drove the refugees out. The U.S. Embassy's own survey, carried out by Frank Albert of the U.S. Information Service at the behest of Ambassador G. McMurtrie Godley, concluded:

Bombing is clearly the most compelling reason for moving.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Tammy Arbuckle's dispatch from Vientiane of April 28, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the dispatch was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Apr. 28, 1971]

REFUGEE TESTIMONY DISPUTED IN LAOS

(By Tammy Arbuckle)

VIENTIANE.—Testimony by a State Department official to a Senate subcommittee playing down the role of bombing by American planes in contributing to the movement of refugees from north Laos is disputed here by knowledgeable officials.

The testimony came from William H. Sullivan, one-time ambassador to Laos who is now deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian Affairs, in an appearance Thursday before the Refugee subcommittee of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

Americans here, most of them in middle-level posts, recalled a joint U.S.-Laos operation, called Operation Abol Face, in August 1969 which, they said, bombed towns around the Plain of Jars area "out of existence."

Americans who have interviewed refugees from the Plain of Jars area said there were at least 190 civilian casualties during this period and virtually all refugees interviewed gave American bombing as the reason they left their villages.

15,000 LAOTIANS INVOLVED

Sources said between 15,000 and 18,000 people were involved.

In his testimony, Sullivan said the facts did not bear out charge by Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, R-Calif., that American air attacks, particularly since the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam, have displaced large numbers of Laotians.

Sullivan said that when bombing was shifted from North Vietnam to Laos, the attacks were concentrated on the area of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in southern Laos, not in north Laos.

"In north Laos," said Sullivan, "the sortie level continued almost exactly as it was from November 1968 through February and early March of 1969. It was only in late March of 1969 and subsequently through the military campaigns which rolled over the Plain of Jars from then until early 1970 that there was an augmentation of air activity in northern Laos."

"UNFORTUNATELY CAUGHT"

The military struggle for the Plain of Jars, said Sullivan, resulted in the westward movement of some 1,000 people out of

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the total of approximately 150,000 people who were forced to move westward during that North Vietnamese offensive.

"These 17,000 were unfortunately caught up in the very center of major military activity, both ground and air. This sort of fighting was an unusual exception to the normal pattern of military activity which has prevailed over the past several years in northern Laos."

Sources here, however, said the U.S. accelerated the bombing of north Laos from November 1968, when Phou Pathl, a radar station in the north, fell to enemy forces.

In May 1969, they said, American planes razed the town of Xieng Khouang on the Plain of Jars, causing an estimated 200 civilian casualties.

In August, U.S. planes hit virtually every village in the Plain of Jars area, in particular destroying the town of Phon Sevan to clear the way for joint U.S.-Lao helicopter operations there.

These Americans said several private surveys of refugees from the Plain of Jars supported the charge that bombing drove the refugees out. The U.S. Embassy's own survey, carried out by rank Albert of the U.S. Information Service at the behest of Ambassador G. McMurtrie Godley, concluded: "Bombing is clearly the most compelling reason for moving."

When I visited the Plain of Jars in February 1970, hilltops were cratered with bombs which only U.S. planes could have dropped.

Sullivan's contention that the shift in bombing from North Vietnam to Laos was almost exclusively directed against the Ho Chi Minh Trail area apparently contradicts testimony received by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1969.

On Page 464 of the published hearings, Col. Robert Tyrell said, under questioning by Sen. Stuart Symington, D-Mo., that U.S. air strikes in north Laos had accelerated and strikes against the Ho Chi Minh Trail had decreased.

The attempt to disguise events in Laos occurs here as well as in Washington. In the presence of reporters, McCloskey, during his visit here earlier this month, had to exert considerable pressure to get copies of the embassy document finding that refugees had moved because of American bombing.

Even after McCloskey had a copy and had shown it to reporters, the embassy refused to permit reporters to see it. Asked about the document's contents, Andrew P. Guzowski, the embassy spokesman, said he had not read it.

Godley said he "did not approve" of the finding in the study, a comment people here do not find surprising since he is responsible for clearing each bombing mission in Laos and the document shows villages were struck which had no enemy troops in them.

Godley does not shirk responsibility for U.S. actions here, and it is certain the bombing of the villages was not a willful action to strike civilians. Rather it is the result of faulty intelligence which reported enemy troops in the villages.

Any request for the bombing of inhabited areas, Sullivan told the subcommittee, is "carefully examined in advance by the embassy in Vientiane, and the strike has to be personally approved by the ambassador. These rules of engagement, which are designed to protect the civilian population, have been in effect since 1965 and, with respect to this safety feature, have not been altered."

American officials here say this "rule of engagement" is more in theory than in fact. If the ambassador approved every bombing, they said, he would not have time for any other duties.

Outside of the Plain of Jars, most of the Lao refugees have been caused because they were caught in the fighting between oppos-

ing forces, in artillery duels or by other factors brought on by the war—high prices, food shortages and fear of conscription as porters by the Communists or as soldiers by both sides.

### PROGRESS IN SOLVING HEALTH PROBLEMS

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, during recent field hearings held in New York, the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), the ranking Republican on the Health Subcommittee, made a statement outlining the progress that has been made in recent years with respect to the health problems of the country and urged a National discussion on the health care crisis based on "facts rather than myths."

Senator DOMINICK quoted H. L. Mencken's warning with respect to simple answers to complex problems when he stated:

For every human problem, there is a solution that is simple, neat, and wrong.

We must make certain that the solution that we reach with respect to the health care crisis is not the wrong one.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator DOMINICK's statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PETER H. DOMINICK, APRIL 15, 1971

Mr. CHAIRMAN: As the Health Subcommittee begins its field hearings on the subject of "The Health Care Crisis", I believe it is important to point out to the witnesses that the jurisdiction of this Subcommittee is quite broad. The rules of the Senate provide that legislation will be referred to the parent Labor and Public Welfare Committee if it involves the public health. In fact, this means that the Health Subcommittee has jurisdiction over the Public Health Service and also over a wide range of federal health programs. In the last Congress under the chairmanship of Senator Yarborough, this Subcommittee acted on a wide range of health legislation. Much fine legislation was enacted into law which will help immeasurably in providing better facilities and more manpower to meet our problems. The Subcommittee recommended and the Congress enacted legislation which provides grants to schools of public health, assistance for migrant agricultural workers health programs, federal aid to community mental health centers, federal assistance to medical libraries, federal dollars for vaccination programs, an extension of the Regional Medical Program which funds projects across the country in health education and delivery to control heart disease, cancer, stroke and now kidney disease.

This Subcommittee also acted on legislation during the last Congress to extend and strengthen comprehensive health planning, to provide additional aid to fight mental retardation and help children with developmental disabilities, to extend and improve the training programs for allied health professions, to establish a landmark program for prevention and treatment of alcoholism, and to authorize the use of Public Health Service personnel in areas where there are shortages of physicians.

Additionally, we acted on legislation to provide help to persons desiring family planning information, and the Congress passed occupational health and safety legislation, Clean Air Act amendments, the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act and the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, as well

as the Lead-Based Paint Poison Prevention Act and the Air Pollution Control Standards Act.

In this Congress, some 30 odd bills and resolutions covering a broad range of health matters have already been referred to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee for initial consideration by this Subcommittee. Some of the most important of these deal with urgent problems related to the shortage and maldistribution of health manpower. For example, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, which provides federal assistance to schools and students of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, podiatry, pharmacy, optometry, and veterinary medicine, will expire July 1 this year. Several bills which would extend and modify that authority are pending action before this Subcommittee. Also pending is legislation to assist in the training of acutely needed nurses and other allied health personnel.

As everyone knows, several "national health insurance" proposals have been introduced this Congress. These raise significant issues because they represent the first comprehensive approach to improving the quality and accessibility of health care in the United States.

Several weeks of this Subcommittee's time this year have been spent listening to testimony directly related to these proposals. While such testimony is undoubtedly helpful to this Subcommittee, I think it should be kept in mind that the various "national health insurance" proposals are not before us. Since they have revenue raising features they have been referred to the Finance Committee. In summary, this Subcommittee has pending before it considerable legislation dealing with urgent problems which fall within its broad jurisdiction. For that reason, I think the scope of these field hearings should be confined to those problems.

As we go into these field hearings, I think it is important to put a few facts into the record and to comment on some misconceptions which have been apparent in previous hearings or in the discussion of the health care situation in the country.

Let's look at the use of statistics by some of the witnesses who have appeared before this Subcommittee. Some would have us believe that the United States is providing second-rate medical care because other countries have lower infant mortality rates. In truth, infant mortality is for the most part a social rather than a medical problem. Factors such as poverty, malnutrition, poor housing, poor education and racial or ethnic differences are much more highly correlated with infant mortality than such factors as the number of physicians or hospitals.

Moreover, comparisons of international statistics on infant mortality are not very meaningful. The Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations spends five pages pointing out why statistics from one country are not necessarily comparable to statistics from another country, especially in the field of infant mortality.

There also seems to be a popular misconception that the United States is the only major industrial nation in the world that does not have national health service or a program of nationalized health insurance. This claim was made last month on the floor of Congress, and the idea is widely shared, even among some health "experts". Those who hold this view seem to have in mind the British and Eastern European model in which health services are not the typical Western European model. In fact, continental health-insurance schemes are predominantly financed by employer-employee contributions and operate within the framework of national standards.

It has been said, "In the analysis of the health care crisis, there is an acute and worsening shortage of all kinds of health personnel, especially doctors." The truth is that

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### **CAMBODIA FOOLYS BY SPIES REPORTED**

PNOMPENH, Cambodia, May 26 (AP)—Twelve-man teams of Cambodian troops, trained by Central Intelligence Agency personnel at a base in Laos, successfully infiltrated deep into Communist-held territory in Cambodia two months ago, according to Western sources here.

The sources said about 20 such intelligence teams were flown last March to a base near Pakse in southern

secret landing zones in Rattanak Kiri, Stung Trong and Preah Vihear provinces in northern Cambodia. The entire region has been controlled by North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces since early last month. The teams were said to have returned after a month.

The sources said the Cambodians were flown aboard helicopters from the United States air base at Udorn, Thailand. American pilots and crewmen in uniform were aboard some of the aircraft, the sources stated. Other helicopters were flown by Thai crews, according to the sources.

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# Symington Seeks Secret Session on U.S. Laos Role

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 28 — Senator Stuart Symington said tonight that he would ask for a secret session of the Senate to review the American involvement in the war in Laos.

In a speech prepared for delivery this evening before the Harvard Faculty Club in Cambridge, Mass., Senator Symington, a member of both the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees, said he had become convinced that "the people, as well as most of their Congressional representatives, have little or no knowledge of the long and tragic war being conducted in that country, and therefore even less knowledge of the amount of money involved."

The Missouri Democrat said he was requesting the session so that Senators would know the facts of American involvement in Laos "before they appropriate more funds for this clandestine war."

## Last Such Session in '69

Under Senate rules, a secret session is held on the request of any Senator. The last secret session on Laos was in December, 1969, and it resulted in an amendment to the Defense Appropriations Act prohibiting the introduction of American ground combat troops into Laos or Cambodia.

At the secret session, Senator Symington is expected to present the findings of a report recently submitted by two staff members of the Foreign Relations Committee—James G. Lowenstein and Richard M. Moose—after an inspection trip to Laos.

The Lowenstein-Moose report, which is classified on orders of the State Department, said that the United States was financing 4,800 Thai troops to fight in Laos on behalf of the Laotian Government. Earlier hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Foreign Commitments, headed

by Senator Symington, disclosed that the Central Intelligence Agency was financing an irregular army of mountain tribesmen in Laos and that American planes were providing combat air support to Laotian Government troops in northern Laos.

Senator Symington cited the Lowenstein-Moose report in explaining why he had become "convinced that Congress is not losing control of this multi-billion defense budget; it has already lost it."

## 'Administration Lost Control'

"Not only has the Congress lost control through lack of knowledge," he said, but in some cases "the Administration itself has lost control of the military and the latter's request for additional funds."

In support of this contention, Senator Symington cited recent actions of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that challenged the Defense Department's decision not to request funds this year for a new nuclear carrier. Senator Symington was appointed to the joint committee this year.

That decision on the part of civilian authority apparently was not satisfactory to some members of the military," he said.

First, he said, the Joint Atomic Energy Subcommittee on Military Applications, headed by Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, held hearings at which "the military, in effect, explained why they felt this carrier decision was a mistake." Among those testifying at the May 5 hearing were Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., Chief of Naval Operations.

Then, Senator Symington said, the committee staff issued a report, which had not been cleared with all members of the committee, stating that "the

Joint Committee recommends" report before its release to the press. According to committee sources, Adm. Rickover was influential in arranging the subcommittee hearing and then in the committee's issuance of the report.

# Secret War Report Planned

By Spencer Rich  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) said yesterday he will demand a rare secret session of the Senate to give senators the full story about U.S. involvement in "the long and tragic war being conducted" in northern Laos.

This will mark the second time in two years that the Senate has gone into secret session on the Laotian war.

On Dec. 15, 1969, the Senate also went into secret meeting to discuss the extent to which the United States was financing and assisting the the Royal Laotian government against Communist and Pathet Lao foes in northern Laos.

Immediately afterwards, it approved by an 80-to-9 vote a prohibition against introduction of U.S. ground combat troops into Laos or Thailand. It is still in effect.

Although little has been made public about the details of U.S. involvement, it is estimated that the CIA has been financing an army of as many as 32,000 Meo and other tribesmen in northern Laos. It has also been covertly financing Thai troops fighting on the side of the Royal Lao Forces.

The United States has also been conducting B-52 raids against the Communists in northern Laos and providing

money and supplies to the government. The United States, according to some sources, has been supplying most of the Lao government budget, 90 percent or more.

No public estimate has ever been given of the total costs to the United States, but one source has put the figure as high as \$384 million in a past year and \$20 million in the current year. These may be only partial figures, however.

Symington is not expected to ask for the secret session until the week after next at the earliest because he wants to let debate on amendments to the draft bill finish first. He will have no trouble obtaining it, because according to a Senate official, any senator can demand and obtain a secret session if it is demanded by another senator.

Symington said yesterday that before the Senate votes any more money for this clandestine war, it should be informed about "additional military developments" in Laos.

The Symington announcement, made in a speech at Harvard University last night, reflects a new fear among some members of the Senate that U.S. involvement in the Laotian war, which has been dragging on for a number of years, may be a tunnel with no light at the end.

Two staff members of Symington's Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Security Agreements and Commitments testified last week that they learned during an April visit to Laos that the CIA is now financing 4,800 Thai troops fighting in northern Laos on behalf of the Laotian government. The figure apparently was increased from only 1,000 a year ago.

Senators present at the closed meeting said the CIA felt those troops were needed because the Meo tribesmen supported by the CIA had been decimated in years of fighting.